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In the year 1802, PHILIP HAMLIN, a Tinsman of Plymouth, wrote a letter to Mr. HENRY ADDINGTON, the first Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, offering him the sum of £2,000 to give him, HAMLIN, the place of Land-Surveyor of the Customs at Plymouth.——In consequence of this, a criminal information was filed, against the said HAMLIN, by Mr. SPENCER PERCEVAL, who was then the King's Attorney-General, and who, in pleading against the offender, asserted the distinguished purity of persons in power, in the present day. From the Bench great stress was laid on the gravity of the offence of *tendering a bribe*; of the baneful tendency of such crimes, in a moral as well as in a political point of view. The Tinsman was found guilty; he was sentenced to pay a fine of 100 pounds to the King, and to be imprisoned for three months. His business was ruined; and he himself died, in a few months after his release from prison.——POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. II. page 1621*.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

REFORM.—Under this head I shall introduce, from time to time, such matter as appears to me to be connected with the great question of *Parliamentary Reformation*, which question is, I perceive, to be brought forward for discussion, in the House of Commons, at no great distance of time. I shall also bring under this head many matters of Abuse and Corruption; and, indeed, every thing, which shall appear to me well calculated to shew, that a reform of the Commons' House of Parliament is necessary.—For reminding me of the little pithy history, contained in my motto, I have to thank the Editor of an excellent Sunday Paper, called THE EXAMINER. To be sure, this history is admirably calculated for producing good impressions, at the present time. Here we see what was done to the tenderer of a bribe, in 1802. It is only seven years ago. Let us now hear, a little of what was said upon that occasion by Mr. PERCEVAL and by the JUDGE.—Poor Hamlin confessed his guilt; he stated, in his affidavit, "that he sincerely repented of his crime; that he was 40 years of age; that his business was the sole means of supporting himself and family; that a severe judgment might be the total ruin of himself and that family; and that, therefore, he threw himself upon, and implored, the mercy of his prosecutors and of the Court."—In reference to this, Mr. Perceval, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, observe, said: "The circumstances which the defendant discloses, respecting his own situation in life and of his family are all of them topics, very well adapted to affect the private feelings of individuals, and, as far as that consideration goes, nothing further need be said; but, there would have been no prosecution at all, in this case, upon the ground of personal feeling;

"it was set on foot upon grounds of a public nature, and the spirit, in which the prosecution originated, still remains; it is, therefore, submitted to your lordships, not on a point of individual feeling, but of PUBLIC JUSTICE, in which case your lordships will consider how far the affidavits ought to operate in mitigation of punishment."—Public justice! Public justice! Public justice! Public justice! Oh! Public justice! Well; what said the Judge? What said Mr. JUSTICE GROSE, in passing sentence upon this man; "Such a practice, if permitted, would lead to mischief incalculable; for, it might extend to every office in the appointment of the great ministers of the state, civil, MILITARY, and ecclesiastical, and would supersede men of ability and integrity, and place, in their stead, the ignorant and corrupt."—Very sound doctrine, most excellent doctrine!—How the Revd. Mr. Beazely will be dealt with it remains to be seen; and we will wait for the event; though I cannot help stopping here, for a moment, to point out to my readers the valuable fact, that this was a *political writer*, as well as a priest; and that, besides the tendered bribe, he urged his merits as being the author of a pamphlet (another dirty pamphlet), in favour of the ministry of the day.—But, while we bear in mind the affair of the Rev. Mr. Beazely, are there wanting cases, which have come before the parliament, whereunto to apply the principles of public justice, upon which poor Hamlin was sentenced to fine and imprisonment? Are there wanting cases of tendered bribes? Are there wanting cases of bribes actually given, and answered in value received? Are there no persons, who have been proved to hold offices in consequence of such bribes? And have any measures been taken to punish any of those persons?

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——Reader, if thou be'st a man ; if thou hast one particle of *justice* in thy soul ; thou wilt answer these questions, without any assistance of mine ; and wilt not fail to furnish, out of thine own mind, a suitable commentary. — Upon the Trial of poor Hamlin, *Mr. Perceval* said : " My lords, I think it is due to the age " and country, in which we live, to state, " what, indeed, is *universally believed*, that " there never was a period, in the history " of this country, *or of any other*, in which " the characters of persons, in an exalted " station of public life, were so free from " all suspicion of this species of offence, as at " the present moment." — Reader, this was said by a man, who was then one of those persons in exalted stations ; who is now Chancellor of the Exchequer ; to whom *Mr. Adam* sent *Digby Hamilton* about the Note in *Sandon's* possession ; who, in conjunction with *Mr. Adam*, charged *Digby* to enjoin *Sandon* not to destroy that Note ; who, when he had been told that *Sandon* had destroyed the Note, did, in conjunction with *Mr. Adam*, communicate a knowledge of it to some members of the House of Commons ; and, who, when the Note was, afterwards, found to be still in existence, did speak of it as a forgery of *Mrs. Clarke*. But, what is most of all worthy of remark, is, that it has fallen to the lot of this very man to bring into the House of Commons a bill, a bill ! aye, a law, to put a stop, under a government in which he is the prime minister, to those very practices, the rarity of which he insisted upon, in 1802, and for having attempted a single instance of which he called for " PUBLIC JUSTICE " upon the head of *Hamlin the Tinman* ! Oh ! Englishmen, if you fail to draw the proper, the practical, the profitable conclusion from these premises, then are you indeed besotted ; then will you indeed deserve to be treated with disregard and contempt beyond those which are shown towards the beasts that perish. — The reader will have observed, that, during the recent Inquiry, the persons, who took the side of the Duke of York, seemed very much alive to the feelings of the parties accused. One complained of harrowing up the soul of the Duke ; another of wounding the honour of Colonel French ; another of tarnishing the fame of the families of those, who were charged with bribery ; one spoke of the honour of General Clavering, even after he had confessed his offer of a bribe ; and, *Mr. Robert Knight*, after he had himself proved his having given a bribe, was,

by one member, represented as a gentleman of honour, who once had a seat in that House. " Public Justice," that public justice, which was demanded against *Hamlin*, in answer to his humble prayer for mercy, none of these gentlemen called for ; that public justice, before which *Hamlin* and his family could not stand for a moment. Even now we see the bribers at large ; nay, we see them in quiet possession of their offices. True, the frequency of the thing ; the having witnessed a continued succession of advertisements, respecting the purchase and sale of offices under government, and also of seats in parliament, does form some little, though very little apology for *Knight*, *French*, *Sandon*, *Tonyn*, *Dowler*, and the rest of the bribing crew ; but, had not poor *Hamlin* the same apology ? Was not the same excuse good for the preservation of him and his family ? *Hamlin* was fined ; *Hamlin* was sentenced to pay a fine of 100 pounds to the King, and was imprisoned for three months. Think of this, all you, who love even-handed justice. Think of this ; bear it in memory till your last moments ; and imprint it on the minds of your children. No " private feelings " were to stay the hand of " public justice," in the case of *Philip Hamlin*. The ruin of his business and family was not to stop the even course of public justice. Oh ! bear this in mind, and hope and labour for the day when the remembrance of it may be of practical advantage ! — In my last Number, I had the pleasing task of recording the Resolutions passed at the Meeting, held in the City of Westminster ; and, in my present, I shall insert, entire, the speech of *Sir Francis Burdett*, delivered upon that occasion, which speech I take as I find it reported in the *Courier* news-paper, and I select that paper to copy from, because it is, in general, a supporter of the present administration. But, if my pleasure was great in inserting an account of the Proceedings at Westminster, how shall I describe that which I feel at inserting an account of the proceedings in the City of London, where a spectacle has been exhibited, cheering to the hearts of all those who love their country, and terrific to nobody but its foreign and domestic foes. — At a Common Hall ; that is to say, an assemblage of the Livery of the City of London, which was held on Saturday last, the 1st of April, the following excellent Resolutions were moved by *Mr. Waithman*, and were unanimously passed ; and,

it will be seen, that the hope I expressed was not groundless, namely, that the *conduct of the Lord Mayor* would not be forgotten.—I shall take the Resolutions, just as they stand, published by authority, in the news-papers; because this is a very memorable transaction, and will hereafter be a matter of frequent reference, for which reason I shall *number* the Resolutions.

FLOWER, MAYOR.

In a Meeting or Assembly of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen, of the several Companies of the City of London, in Common Hall Assembled, at the Guildhall of the said City, on Saturday, the 1st day of April, 1809,

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,

1. THAT it has long been matter of notoriety, and has lately been proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that Abuses of a most corrupt nature and ruinous tendency have existed and still exist in various branches of the Administration of Public Affairs.

2. Resolved Unanimously—That to detect such Abuses, and expose to detestation those men who have wickedly connived at or participated in them, requires no small degree of virtue, independence and patriotism, all which have been eminently displayed by Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Esq. in instituting and conducting the late Inquiry into the conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke of York.

3. Resolved Unanimously—That the said Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, Esq. is therefore entitled to the Thanks and Gratitude of this Common Hall, for his persevering and independent efforts, which have already produced beneficial effects, and are likely to lead to still more advantageous results; and they express their confidence that having so manfully and ably commenced this arduous task, no difficulty or danger will damp his ardour or impede his progress in a cause so honourable to himself and so essential to the best interests of his country.

4. Resolved Unanimously—That upon the same principles, and for the same reasons, they do highly approve of the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. (the Second) Lord Viscount Folkestone, Samuel Whitbread, Esq. Sir Samuel Romilly, Knight, General Fergusson, and the rest of the 125 honest and independent Members, who supported Mr. Wardle's proposition on the 15th of March, 1809, and trust that, uninfluenced by party or feelings of interest, they will support every

measure calculated to remove abuses and root out corruption.

5. Resolved Unanimously—That these Abuses form only a part of a wicked and corrupt System, which has been long acted upon, and no permanent good can arise from the late investigation, unless followed up by a general reformation of Public Abuses in every department of the State.

6. Resolved Unanimously—That the Corporation of London did, in Petitions unanimously agreed to, and presented to both Houses of Parliament, during the last Sessions, state, "That their burthens had been considerably augmented by gross abuses in the management and expenditure of the Public Money, by a profusion of Sinecure Places and Pensions, which have not only added to the sufferings of the people, but created a pernicious influence, corrupting and undermining the free principles of the British Constitution."

7. Resolved Unanimously—That no measures calculated to remove these oppressive and alarming evils have yet been adopted, nor can any rational expectation be formed that such measures will be adopted, while the management of the Public Affairs is in the hands of persons who are themselves the greatest Pensioners and Reversionists in the kingdom.

8. Resolved Unanimously—That it has since appeared, by the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, that 78 Members of that House are in the receipt of £.178,994 per annum, out of the Public Money, who, with their relations, and the Naval and Military Officers in that House, must give a most preponderating and dangerous influence to a Ministers of the Crown.

9. Resolved Unanimously—That if any doubt could remain as to the baneful effect of such influence, it has been sufficiently exemplified by the rejection of Mr. Wardle's late Proposition in Parliament, against the most conclusive evidence, and unequivocal sense of the country; and where it appeared that all his Majesty's Ministers—all the Placemen—and all the Pensioners, then present (stated to be 82 in number) voted against the said Proposition; while, of course, in the Minority of 125, not one of the Ministers—not one Placeman—not one Pensioner—and only one Naval and one Military Commander was to be found.

10. Resolved Unanimously—That other Governments have crumbled into ruin—other States have been subverted, and their ancient and venerable Institutions overthrown, by the folly, profligacy, and vices

of their Rulers; and, in the opinion of this Common Hall, unless this overwhelming tide of corruption is resisted by temperate and timely reformation, it must inevitably lead to the ruin and subjugation of this Country.

11. Resolved Unanimously — That it will be highly expedient for the Livery of London, some time during the present Session, to meet for the purpose of laying a faithful statement of their Grievances before Parliament, and pray for redress of the same.

12. Resolved Unanimously — That the Thanks of this Common Hall be given to Alderman Combe, one of the Representatives of this City in Parliament, for the support he gave to Mr. Wardle's Motion, and for his uniform independence and incorruptibility in Parliament.

13. Resolved — That Sir William Curtis, Bart. Sir Charles Price, Bart. and James Shaw, Esq. three of the Representatives for this City in Parliament have, by their recent conduct therein, shewn a contempt and disregard for the opinions and interests of their Constituents, and a base subserviency to the will of Ministers; and are, therefore, unworthy the confidence of their Fellow-Citizens.

14. Resolved — That the Lord Mayor has, by refusing to convene a Common Hall upon the three different requisitions, by presuming to dictate the terms and object of the present requisition, by the reluctance he even afterwards evinced, and the trouble and delay he has created, shewn a contempt and disregard for the Rights and Privileges of the Livery, and is unworthy the confidence of his Fellow-Citizens.

15. Resolved — That the Thanks of this Common Hall be given to Robert Waithman, Esq. for his manly conduct in the present instance, and his unremitting zeal upon all occasions where the Interests of his Fellow-Citizens are in Question.

16. Resolved Unanimously — That the foregoing Resolutions be signed by the Town Clerk, and inserted in all the Morning and Evening Papers. WOODTHORPE.

I would fain give all the speeches, delivered upon this occasion, and especially the two speeches of Mr. Waithman; but my space will not allow of it. One speech, however, I cannot refrain from giving; and that is the speech of Mr. Alderman CURTIS, who is also a member of parliament. "Sir William Curtis next appeared. "Immediately a tumult, which we would vainly attempt to describe, arose. One

"universal hiss echoed through the hall. "Sir William addressed them in dumb "shew, he bowed, put his hand upon his "heart, all in vain. The Lord Mayor "thought to conciliate, but he was obliged "to retire amid universal groanings, his- "sings, &c. Sir Wm. at length gained a "partial hearing; he said the resolutions "went to charge Government with cor- "ruption.—(*Shouts of Yes, yes! and you "along with them*).—Why, said Sir William, "I believe many of those connected with "the Duke of York to have been corrupt, "but Gentlemen in the House of Com- "mons spoke three or four hours each, and "if every one was to do that, we should be "sitting still. I then only spoke a few "words. *Cries of 'they would not hear "you.'*"—"Your vote."—"How did you "vote?" Indeed, Gentlemen, there was "such confusion I did not know how to "vote; many did not know how they voted "(*hissing*). I assure you I am no Place- "man, no Pensioner. (*Roars of derision; "You are, you are, 'A Jobber, a Con- "tractor, shame, shame, off, off.'*) Sir Wm. "made a low bow and took his seat beside "the Lord Mayor."—The "worthy "Alderman" was not less unfortunate than his two colleagues, SIR CHARLES PRICE and MR. ALDERMAN SHAW, the former of whom, when he came to speak of having given his vote according to the "*best of his judgment*," excited such general hisses and cries of *off! off!* that the "Honourable Baronet" was compelled to retire.—MR. ALDERMAN SHAW seems to have proceeded for a while without interruption, until he came to these words: "For my own part, I can safely "declare, that I judged of the Duke of "York, as I should have done of any other "Englishman, upon the same evidence," when, as the reporter states, a certain *monosyllable*, accompanied by *off! off!* proceeded from numerous voices.—Now came the close, the excellent close of this novel and heart-cheering scene. The resolution of censure against Messrs. PRICE, SHAW and CURTIS having been carried with about only a dozen dissenting voices, MR. WAITHMAN came forward and proposed the resolution of censure with respect to the conduct of the Lord Mayor, who was himself in the chair, and whose duty it was, of course, to *put the resolution*. "The Noble "Lord," as the news-papers call him, appears to have boggled a good deal; he expostulated; and, amidst hisses and hooting and laughing, expressed his resolution not to put the resolution. Mr. Waithman insisted, that he could not refuse. Mr.

Rowcroft stepped forward in favour of "the Noble Lord;" but, when his object became apparent, he was assailed by cries of—"You are his partner and adviser, and ought to justify your own acts. You are his *brother contractor*. You have involved him in the hobble, and may try to release him. We understand you both, and the public will know you soon."—After some further altercation; but not until Mr. ALDERMAN COMBE had expressed his determination to take the chair and put the resolution, if the Lord Mayor would not, the Noble Lord came forward, and said, that, not from his own conviction, but for the sake of *the peace of the City*, he would put the resolution himself, which he actually did, and, with his own lips, proclaimed, that the Resolution of censure of his own conduct had been carried!—The thanks of the Livery were then given to Mr. WAITHMAN, and if ever man living, or dead, deserved such a mark of approbation, Mr. Waithman deserved it. Twenty years has he been labouring to unglue the eyes of the Citizens of London. No difficulties; no discouragements; no calumnies have slackened his efforts. He has always said: "they are blinded; they are misled; they are deceived, cheated by cunning knaves; but, still there is good in their hearts, and one day or other, it will appear." I remember his saying this to me, about thirteen or fourteen months ago. The beauty of it is, too, that he is a man of excellent character, in every respect; that he is a plain unambitious man; that he is perfectly disinterested in all he does; that he is a real patriot, and as faithful and zealous a subject as any the King has in his whole dominions. Oh! the loads of abuse that most worthy man has had to sustain! The public have recently witnessed the effects of his zeal and activity, with regard to Christ's Hospital. Having brought forward a shocking instance of abuse there, the *Reverend* person accused does not, for he cannot, *deny the charge*; but he fails not to accuse Mr. Waithman of being an *enemy to the civil and religious establishments of the country*! This school was endowed for the purpose of affording the poor men of England an opportunity of elevating their families by the education of their children. It is required, that the father, or other guardian of the child, should make and sign a declaration, I believe, *on oath* (though I will not be quite sure of that) that the child, proposed to be put into the school, is of

such an age, &c. that he was born thus and thus; and, that the father or mother, or child himself, if an orphan, *has not the means of paying himself for the education of the child*. Now, it appears, that the REV. DAWSON WARREN (let us have his name as we can read it), Vicar of Edmon-ton, in Middlesex, whose son was got into the school, admits that his income is £.850 a year, and that his life is insured for £.3,000.—Can there be a more crying abuse than this? Nay, and when a motion was made for the expulsion of the boy, it was urged, as a reason against the adoption of the motion, "that it might establish a dangerous precedent, which might lead to the expulsion of half the school." Yet, by exposing this shocking abuse; this wrong shamefully done to our poorer countrymen, and that, too, by one of the most richly beneficed clergymen; by exposing this abuse, and by persevering, as he does in every thing he undertakes, Mr. Waithman called down upon his head the charge of being an enemy to the *civil and religious establishments* of the kingdom.—It has been uniformly thus: reason upon abuses, and you are answered by a charge of jacobinism: state facts, and you are a traitor. If there be no construction of law that will reach you, recourse is had to calumny; meet that and defeat it, and recourse is had to cowardly insinuation. All the vices, all the weaknesses, all that is defective in the people is armed against you. Prejudices are created and nourished, with a degree of care and of malignant perseverance hardly to be conceived; and thus the triumph of falshood over truth is insured. For twenty years has Mr. Waithman been struggling against this torrent of overwhelming corruption and falshood. Truth, however, has, at last, forced her way, *thanks to Mr. Wardle*, through all the obstacles that existed, and on Saturday last, Mr. Waithman received ample compensation for half a life of anxiety and of labour.—Now, then, will Mr. Yorke and Mr. Perceval say, that this is mere "*popular clamour*?" That it is not the voice, the sober sense, of the people? True, the Livery of London did hiss, and cry off! off! But, this was an expression of their indignation at conduct, upon which they had all the means of forming a cool and correct opinion. If, indeed, it had been now that the subject had been *first* discussed, the case would be different; we should then say, that they ought to have listened patiently to both sides; but, the whole of the evidence, in

minute detail, had been before them for a month; each man of them had had ample time and opportunity to form his judgment; the conviction had been produced, and all that remained to be done was to pass sentence. That sentence they have passed; and, I trust, the whole nation is ready to follow their example.—It was one of those cases, upon which it was *impossible*; quite and completely impossible, for any man, in his right senses, to form a wrong opinion. It was a matter which admitted not of dispute, or of difference of opinion, any more than does the existence of man. There required, therefore, no discussion. It was a mere dry question of degree of indignation; and, all the use of a speech, even from Mr. Waithman, was to settle that question of degree. I find, therefore, nothing to complain of in the impatience of the Livery, nor in the manner of expressing their resentment. I think they have shewn themselves to be animated by a spirit, such as the times require, and such as, I hope and trust, will be communicated to the kingdom at large.—I rejoice to see, that they despise the idea of hoping for any salutary effects from what has been done, unless it be followed by a *general reform*, and especially a reform of the Commons House of Parliament. Why have we now all these meetings? Why do we feel ourselves called upon to thank Mr. Wardle? Because we see, that it is necessary to give him *support*. Support *against whom*? Against whom does he want support? Why, against those, who voted against him. Against those, who are pointed out in the City Resolutions. This it is, and this alone, which has thrown the nation into such a ferment, which, one would think, would be quite sufficient to convince even the most blinded and the most interested of the absolute necessity of a legal, constitutional, and temperate reform. There is no *innovation* wanted. Lay the books of the constitution of England open, and give us what they describe, and no more, and we shall be perfectly satisfied. Here is the whole nation in movement to give thanks, to present pieces of plate, to erect monuments, to a member of parliament. And, for what? Why, for doing no more than what it is the bounden duty of every member of the House of Commons to do. What must be the conclusion from this? That no one but him would have done what he has done; or, at least, that the fidelity to public trust, and zeal in the public service, which he has shewn, are

extremely rare; are almost the singular exception, instead of being the general rule.—It is evident, as Mr. Waithman told the Livery, that, if this reform, so necessary to the stability of the throne, as well as to the happiness of the people, is to be brought about, it must be in consequence of the exertions of the people, made in a manner at once legal, constitutional, respectful, and determined. There is no occasion for *Clubs* or *Associations* of any sort. The law, even as it now stands, gives us full scope for our exertions in this way, and, if we do not avail ourselves of it, all that we now complain of is infinitely too good for us.

SPAIN and SWEDEN.—In the midst of our Inquiries at home, we have, and very wisely too, laid aside all discussion about the affairs of Spain, though our ministers have recently made a Treaty of Alliance with king FERDINAND VII, whom Napoleon has living upon a pension, or at board wages, in France! They may make treaties of alliance; they may make new ambassadors, and they may fasten those new ambassadors on us for life, though the list is already quite long enough; but, they will do nothing for the restoration of the Bourbons in Spain. I told them what the consequence of *royalizing* the cause of Spain would be. They did royalize it, and that consequence has followed.—The public will bear in mind, that I was outrageously abused for saying, that the people of Spain would not fight for Ferdinand; for saying, that they would stand by, spectators without interest in the event; that nothing that we could do would induce them to make sacrifices for the re-establishment of the old corrupt system, the old system of corruption. For having said this, for beseeching my readers not to believe any thing they heard about the enthusiasm of the Spaniards, I was called a jacobin; was charged with wishing to overturn the government of England; and was, by the base hirelings of the day, represented as being the *immediate agent of the devil*. Well, now, what says SIR JOHN MOORE, who was in Spain, at the very time that I was thus reviled? What says he, in his dispatches to the government? Why, he says, that so far from meeting with a people enthusiastic in the cause of king Ferdinand; so far from this, that he found, at the best, an indifference towards that cause; that he could obtain no aid from the people of any sort; no co-operation, no concurrence, no sympathy; and that he could not even get intelligence of events

at fifty miles distance from him, so completely were the people wanting in all friendly feeling towards him, his army, and his cause. He says, and it should be well remembered, that the difficulty of his situation is greatly increased in consequence of the *unfounded expectations raised at home by representing the Spanish people as unanimously enthusiastic in the cause*. He states this embarrassment most distinctly. He expresses, in a most feeling manner, his fear of disappointing those sanguine, though groundless expectations; and, indeed, the tenor of his dispatches clearly shows, that his delay to retreat; and that all his and the army's misfortunes, arose primarily from this false expectation, excited at home. This was the fruit of all the silly bragging in our public prints; of the still more silly toasts of the Turtle patriots; and of that expression, which I need not attempt to qualify, "*the Universal Spanish nation*," the like of which was never before found in any writing above the level of a romance. "The universal Spanish nation!" Where was it when our army got there? Where was it when the French entered Madrid? Go ask; Mr. Canning, go ask the graves of the thousands of Englishmen, who perished in that ill-fated expedition; go seek, in the history of slaughtered horses and of money chests emptied into wells and from the tops of mountains; go ask the dispersed, the shattered, the emaciated, the beggar-looking remains of the army: this is where you are to ask, what had become of "*the universal Spanish nation*," fired, as it was, with enthusiasm in the cause of FERDINAND VII. The remains of that army will tell you, that, as an earnest of this enthusiasm, our transports, upon arriving at Corunna, were delayed for some time for want of pilots, who, at last, were obtained only in consequence of more than double the usual pay;—that, upon landing, every thing necessary for the accommodation or the movement of the army was obliged to be purchased at an enormous price, and that it became, even from the first, necessary to collect forage with the dollars in one hand and the sword in the other, so reluctant were the "universal Spanish nation" even to sell comfort to their "deliverers;"—that, as the army proceeded up the country, they found this disinclination towards them increase;—that, in order to obtain, even at very exorbitant prices, what was absolutely necessary to the existence of the horses, they were, almost constantly, obliged to have

recourse to compulsory measures;—that, every where, they were received with lurking hostility, or, at the very best, with the coldest of coldness;—that, upon no occasion, did the people shew the smallest degree of compassion for the sick or the wounded, but, on the contrary, treated them, where they had an opportunity, with every species of contempt and cruelty;—that "*the universal Spanish nation*," as far as our army had an opportunity of viewing its conduct, was, however, perfectly impartial in this respect, treating the poor wretches, who returned from BLAKE's army, in exactly the same manner;—that, when our troops entered LUGO, some horse-men going into a stable, in the dark, trod upon dead bodies, which they afterwards found to be some of the poor creatures before-mentioned, who had been driven from the doors of the inhabitants, and left to perish with pain and hunger;—that many of these men, actually died, and laid dead, in the streets, for want of warmth and sustenance, while, at the same time, the merciless priests, with their tribes of chanters and torch-bearers, were, along those same streets, marching in solemn procession, the people, this part of "*the universal Spanish nation*," being, all the while, prostrate in the dirt or snow, in sign of adoration and piety, in sign of attachment to those "*altars*," for which Mr. Alderman Birch told us it was a virtue to fight and to die;—that, as to the state of the people, instead of seeing that bustle, that industry, and that cheerfulness, to be witnessed in an English town, you saw all the doors close shut and fast bolted, the windows scarcely open, nothing having the appearance of business, and the people either kneeling down in the streets at the tinkling or ringing of a bell, or shrugged up, their heads buried in their cloaks, leaning against the walls;—that, amongst this part, at least, of "*the universal Spanish nation*," there is nothing answering to that term, in which all manner of happiness is conveyed, namely, a *fire-side*, there being not even any *fire-places*, except one for culinary purposes, and even there the smoke is generally left to find its way out of the doors, or through the roof;—that, to such a pitch are priest-craft and popular credulity supported, that it is the custom, when a poor person dies, to deposit the body in a coffin, with the lid off, to cover the body with thin crape, leaving the arms and head bare, to deposit it, in this state, in a capacious niche, by the

side of the most public walk of the town, placing a picture upon the wall, representing a person burning in hell, and holding up his hands to angels, who seem waiting for authority to rescue the sufferer, to place a money box under the picture, and, when that box is filled to the satisfaction of the priests, the body is buried;—that the priests are seen almost constantly prowling about with their torches, their hosts, and their benedictions, never forgetting a *money box*;—that the situation of the labouring people is miserable in the extreme, they having no furniture, no beds but the earth and straw or rushes, and their cookery consisting chiefly of the boiling of chesnuts and roots in a sort of pipkins, or mugs, made of clay;—that his part, at least, of “the universal Spanish nation,” are, as of course they must be, a filthy, meagre, and squalid race, while the priests are stout and jolly fellows, straight in shape and rosy in complexion.——It is very fine to talk about “altars.” Such words do very well for the rounding of a sentence; but, I put it to the good sense and to the real piety of any man, whether it be desirable that any people should exist in such a situation? The ministers have said, that it was not for them to find fault with the system of either the Church or State in Spain. Certainly not; but, it is one thing to find fault with, and interfere in, the internal government of Spain, and another to give your support to that government; and that, too, at such an immense expence of lives as well as of money to your own country. It is one thing to call upon Spain to reform the abuses of which I have been speaking, and another thing to send an army to assist her rulers in upholding and perpetuating those horrible abuses, abuses not more injurious and degrading to man than they are blasphemous against his Maker. This nation, the ministers have told us, were unanimous in their enthusiasm in the cause of Spain. So they were; but, was not that enthusiasm bottomed upon the belief, that the Spaniards were fighting for freedom? Or, is there really to be found a man of impudence sufficient to assert, that the people of England were eager to give their money and to shed their blood for the support of a state of things, in which the hell-fire niche and money-box formed a principal feature?——Let us leave, however, the morality of the thing aside, and consider our measures, with respect to Spain, merely as to their policy, and let us suppose that policy to be confined to the

preventing of Napoleon from becoming master of Spain. For my part, I despise such a motive of warfare; but, suppose it to be laudable, suppose this to have been a wise and just motive for our taking part in the war; and then, upon that supposition, I ask the reader, whether he thinks that it is *probable*; whether he thinks that it is *possible*, for a people, situated as the people of Spain are, to be roused to any thing like popular enthusiasm or public spirit, without being first enlightened as to the abuses practised upon them; without being first let loose from the chains with which they are bound? The answer of common sense is in the negative.——The ministers had deputies enough in Spain. We hear, every day, of their information from Sir Such-an-one and Lord Such-an-one and His Excellency John Hookham Frere; but, there needed none of this; to men, not blinded by their hatred of “jacobinism,” and by their eagerness to be *a-doing*, there needed no more than a very ordinary portion of general knowledge, joined to a very moderate capacity of judging of the power of causes in producing effects; there needed these only to convince our ministers, that, to resist Napoleon in Spain, with the smallest chance of ultimate success, a revolution, a complete and radical revolution, a total change in the government, church as well as state, must first be accomplished. It was not for them to dictate to the Spaniards, to tell them what sort of government they ought to have, or what part of their old system they ought to destroy; but, it was for them, it was their bounden duty, to ascertain that the people of Spain were in a state, calculated to afford them a chance of success, before so much English money and blood, and so much English reputation was hazarded, in attempts to assist the Spaniards. This they did not ascertain; upon this subject, which was important above all others connected with the affairs of Spain, Sir John Moore’s dispatches prove, that the English nation was completely misled; and the public will remember, that they were so misled by publications, *official* as well as others, issuing from the ministry, who, from the very outset, appear to have had uppermost in their thoughts the preventing of a popular revolution in Spain, lest the example of Spain should become contagious.——As to the military measures; as to the more or less of the probability of that misfortune and disgrace, which attended our flight through Leon and Galicia, they are nothing at all; though great in themselves,

they are as nothing, when put in comparison with the *principle of the war*. It is to this principle that the people of England should look as to the cause, and the only cause, of all the sufferings of the army, and all the losses of the country in this war; and, I am persuaded, that there is no man, who gives the matter a serious and impartial consideration, who will not agree with me, that all those sufferings and all those losses are to be fairly ascribed to the *reluctance of our ministers to see a free government established in Spain*. They seem clearly to me to have thought, that a radical reformation in Spain; that the establishing, *by the hands of the people*, a new system of rule over that long-oppressed nation, would prove a *dangerous example*. But, *to whom* could the example be dangerous? Not to their Royal Master or his Family, whose subjects, though not without their grounds of complaint as to certain measures of his successive sets of servants, were in a situation having nothing in common with that of the people of Spain, any more than with that of the inhabitants of Guinea. Did they fear for the despotisms of the continent? If so, it would argue, that all which they and their partizans have said about the despotism of Napoleon is not believed by themselves; for, otherwise, they must have thought, that the best possible way of attacking Napoleon's government, was, to erect a free government in a great nation upon his frontiers. Did they fear for other governments of Europe, all of whom, by-the-bye, were at war with us? Did their love of monarchy so far subdue and swallow up their hatred of our enemies? If so, the feeling was the foolishlest, the most senseless, that ever was entertained; for who does not see the utter impossibility of supporting those governments by any other means than those of *reformation*; aye, of complete regeneration, however terrific the word may sound at Whitehall? There was a time when men might reasonably differ in opinion upon this point; but, after all that we have now seen, it appears to me nothing short of insanity, or of the most criminal hypocrisy, to deny, that this is the only way, in which it is possible for those governments to preserve their existence.—In one of the excellent essays of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, written at the breaking out of the present war between Russia and Sweden, he foretold, that, unless the king of Sweden began by a reformation at home; by *calling the States together*; by restoring to

the people the full enjoyment of their ancient constitution, this war would end in his ruin. He described the state of the country; shewed the want of motives in the people to defend it; and applied to this particular case, that principle, which he has so frequently and so ably maintained, namely, that without a *people* well disposed; without a people having motives for national defence, a *standing army*, would, in the end, avail him nothing. This prediction has been completely verified. And, are there still persons to call Major Cartwright a "jacobin"? Aye, are there, and to put a rope round his neck, too, if they could.—What shall we say, then? If this be the case; if men are not to be schooled by events like these, what ground is there to hope, that they will be induced, by reasoning, to act upon the principles, whereon is built the security of states and of thrones?—As to what has occurred in Spain, since the return of our army, there is not much of interest. It was to be expected, that King Joseph would be crowned, and, having *power* on his side, it was quite natural for him to have an abundance of *flattering addresses*, from an enslaved people led by a gang of venal courtiers. The people who drop their pence into the hell-fire money box would, of course, have no scruple to cringe to the devil, and why should they scruple to cringe to Joseph Napoleon. He will be a despot; but he will do away, or, at least, greatly diminish, the intolerable, the degrading, the impious despotism of the plundering priests. I wish heartily to see him kicked down and afterwards hanged; but, only upon this condition, that the people regain something like freedom; that something like political liberty succeed his fall.—The movements of the people of Cadiz, show, that they are more enlightened than the mass of the nation. Their demands carry in them the *spirit of freedom*; and, their complaint, that they were deprived of the *use of the press* shews very clearly how pernicious was the edict of the Central Junta, by which the freedom of the press was put a stop to. That edict disheartened me. After the issuing of that, I entertained no hope of the cause; and, I have been assured, by more than one gentleman, who have been much in Spain, during these times, that that measure more than any other, checked the spirit of those who were sufficiently enlightened and who were able, from their talents, to have acted a considerable part in defending the country against the French. I have been

assured by two persons in particular, upon whose judgment as well as upon whose word I can rely, that it was the decided opinion of *all* the well informed part of the Spaniards, with whom they conversed, that a radical revolution was the first necessary measure of defence; nay, further, that the articles, upon the subject, published by me, at the time when I was charged with being instigated by the devil, were read in Spain, and were highly approved of by *all* such Spaniards; that those articles were translated and spread widely through the country; and that the edict of the Junta was thought to be levelled particularly at them. Now, what has this edict done? It kept the people *quiet* 'till Joseph came to take possession of them. It was a kind act towards nobody but Joseph Napoleon. It was intended for the use of Ferdinand and the Junta and the Priests; but it operated, as the most of such acts do, in a way directly the contrary of what was intended.

AUSTRIA.—There seems to be as much pleasure felt, by the partizans of the ministry, at an approaching war between France and Austria, as if the latter was *sure of the victory*. It is said, that “now is the time,” while Napoleon’s armies are in Spain. Just as if he had *no other* armies! Napoleon knows better what he is about than our ministers appear to do, and, therefore, he has taken care to leave a very nice field for their military exploits *in Portugal*, which he is sure he can always drive them from, when he has settled matters elsewhere. He has seen what a hand we make of sending out armies; and, of course, he knows what he has to apprehend from our efforts. The Morning Chronicle, not many days ago, gave an admirable description of the *internal situation* of Austria. The conclusion drawn, was, that, unless a previous reform of the government took place, Austria would be again defeated, if not subdued. This is my opinion, and I believe it to be the general opinion in this country. There is not now, much fear of the public being deceived upon this score; but, deception, as we shall soon see, will not fail to be attempted. We shall have, if war take place, more of Mr. HUSKISSON’S and Mr. WARD’S bulletins, and we shall be considered as jacobins if we do not believe them. The taking of a French hussar will afford a week’s subject for bragging. Oh! the millions of lies that are now in egg, if this war be actually about to begin.—Russia is, it seems, to take part with France, in this war; and,

now we shall hear what curious logic will be dished up for the amiable purpose of persuading us, that the “legitimate” prince is not to blame at all, while the “usurper” ought to be put to the rack. I think the regular way, the standing rule, in all such cases, ought to be this: to hold it, as an article of faith, that the Devil is now come upon the earth, and has crept into the body of Buonaparté; whence, it would naturally follow, that all those who act in concert with him and aid him in his views, act under supernatural controul, and, of course, that nothing which they do for him ought to be imputed to any evil propensity in themselves, or in the nature of their offices. Thus the fault will all fall upon him, and the honour of crowned heads will remain untarnished. Hudibras reasons thus: that the Devil is on the side of the wicked; that he is at the head of them; and that when “the Saints” are tempted to commit any sin, the fault is not theirs, but belongs to, and must be answered for by, the wicked, for whose benefit the Devil acts, and for whose sake he sometimes seduces “the Saints.” Ah, Sir! said a Russian, to me, just after the rupture between us and Russia, “it is that fiend at Paris. It is not the Emperor of Russia that does this. He loves and admires England, and would fain live in friendship with her.” This appeared to me, at first sight, very strange; but, when I came to recollect the doctrine of Hudibras, the reasonableness of it appeared as clear as day-light. It was upon the same foundation, I beg leave to suppose, that Mr. Canning proceeded, when, in his “universal-Spanish-nation” Declaration, he spoke so *compassionately* of the part which the Russian Autocrat took in the overture from ERFURTH, while he thundered out so boldly upon the head of Buonaparté; and, indeed, there is an absolute necessity of adopting this Hudibrastic doctrine; for, without it, we must conclude, that the Emperor of Russia, a “legitimate” sovereign, is either a *partaker in the crimes*, or is the *tool* of Buonaparté; either of which would reflect but very little honour upon crowned heads, and would not very strongly tend to make people believe, that there was any material difference between legitimate and illegitimate sovereigns.

AMERICAN STATES.—The debating gentlemen, who live across the Atlantic, have not, for some months, had much of my attention bestowed upon them. They have now, it seems, repealed their Embargo, except with respect to England and France;

that is to say, they have given their ships liberty to *come out*, under the shabby, the miserable, the despicable appearance of still shewing their resentment against us. They *know*, that the cargoes will come to England; they know that they must come to England; they know that our Sea Orders, preventing them from going any where else, still exist. Aye, and they *intend* they shall come here too; only their silly, their empty pride, will not let them acknowledge it.—Did I not say, that, if our ministers held firm, they would be compelled to repeal this Embargo law? And did I not say, that they would *sneak out* of the thing in some way or other, which would, as they thought, hide their disgrace? No triumph can be more complete than that of the ministers, in this case. They have not moved an inch from their resolution. They have let the Americans do their worst; they have looked quietly on while America passed her *avenging* acts, which were to bring us upon our knees. We were fast *forgetting* her, when she herself, without any compromise, comes to.—I am not, perhaps, very disinterested in these praises of the ministers; for the truth is, that the measures towards America, were as much mine as they were theirs. I alone supported them, while they were assailed by pamphlets and paragraphs and speeches innumerable. That support lost me the friendship of that worthy fellow, the INDEPENDENT WHIG, who not only cut me upon the occasion, but ripped up all my old sins, and threw them in my face, which hurt me the more as I sincerely respected the writer and admired his writings, which I still do.—What are now become of all the predictions and alarms; all the threats of starvation and ruin; all the laborious calculations of Lords Grenville and Auckland? What talking, what debating, there were, this time twelve-months, about the Orders in Council and about the *corn*, which, to poor starving England, would not come from America any longer! Lord Grenville spoke of the prospect of a rupture with America, with such manifest apprehensions in his mind, that I really felt pity for his lordship. Mr. Windham, upon whom it was incumbent to make a speech upon the subject, and whose mind is fertile in resource, left off without having distinctly asserted, or denied any thing.—It is always bad to proceed upon a supposition, that there is a natural, inherent deficiency of means of any sort in the country itself; and this was the supposition, upon which

the opposition proceeded in the question relative to America. They might, indeed, well be led to act thus; for it was a favourite scheme of Pitt's, who actually acquired and consolidated his power by persuading the nation, that it depended, for its existence, wholly upon *something other than its people and its own resources*. One time it was India, another time it was the Funds, another time it was the Opening of the Scheldt, another time it was our Allies upon the Continent, and all through, "England's commercial greatness" swelled out the end of his noisy and empty speeches. Well, the Scheldt is shut, our allies upon the Continent are pretty nearly extinguished and have long been lost to us, America has had her embargo, and Buonaparté has shut up all the ports of the Continent; and how do you feel yourself, my honest duped John Bull? Are you starved yet? Do the oxen fat in Devonshire? Do the sheep breed in Dorsetshire? Do the hogs breed and fat in Hampshire and the bees still collect honey there? Do you get wheat enough to make your loaf of? As to beer, the alarm of the barley-growers is, that they shall not know how to get rid of their corn.—This is the master humbug. Only persuade a nation, that it cannot exist upon its own internal resources, and that nation is your slave. The nation is much indebted to Mr. SPENCE for *proving* the contrary; and much indebted to the ministers for having given us a practical demonstration of the truth of his doctrine. Really the Spaniards, in worshipping Dolls made for them by the heretics in Holland, are not much more foolish than were the Englishmen, who were cozened into a belief that they would all die if an end was put to Commerce and the Funds. They appeared, at one time, to believe that Pitt had the power of putting a stop to rains and snows; that it was he who made the grass grow and the corn ripen. But, some how or other, when he got out of place, he seemed to lose these divine powers. Mr. Addington came, and his partizans attempting to make the praises of Pitt apply to their patron, the thing became ridiculous, and actually the subject of a very smart copy of verses, of which, it was said, Mr. Canning was the author.—The nation is never to be so duped again. The time for that gross duplicity is past. We have now proof, that our own resources are quite sufficient for us, and of this valuable knowledge we shall, I trust, make a proper use.

Botley, Thursday, 6 April, 1809.

MR. LYTTLETON has sent me a Letter, in which he has given me a correct report, according to the best of his recollection, of that part of his Speech, relative to Mr. CANNING's ancestry, upon which I took occasion to offer some remarks. He has accompanied this with a criticism upon those remarks, from which criticism he appears to have miscomprehended *my meaning* much more than the reporter has, according to his own account, miscomprehended his. I inserted what I found in the news-papers, which, as the speeches are permitted to be published, I had a right to do. I am, at all times, happy to correct any report of a speech, or part of a speech; but, I can acknowledge a right in no one to require of me to insert *explanations*, especially if the request be conveyed in a dictatorial tone. Mr. Lyttleton's "explanation" of his words I do not think proper to insert; but, I here insert his correction of the passage alluded to, which will be quite sufficient for all purposes, as the reader will be fully competent himself to find out the meaning of the words, and to see in what, if in any thing essential, the error of the news-paper reporter consisted.—"That I should not be "deterred from freely uttering my opinion "by any dread of the right hon. gent.'s "eloquence, even though he should exercise himself in raking up some obscure "and scandalous anecdotes respecting my "grandfather, or great-grandfather. That, "indeed, I thought it unworthy of that "right hon. gent.'s talents and generosity "to attack us in that manner, and to engage in a species of warfare, in which "he must be conscious we should meet "him upon unequal terms, since we had "no weapons with which to retort upon "him, in the utter deficiency, as far as "my researches into English History had "gone, either of authentic facts, or even "of traditionary rumours respecting his "ancestry. That I did deprecate such "unequal encounters, which I should not "have anticipated, or supposed possible, "if recent experience had not proved the "contrary, and made it a point of prudence to guard one's self against them."

SPEECH

OF

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT,

At the Meeting at Westminster, 30th March 1809.

* GENTLEMEN ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER,

"This is the first opportunity that I have had, since you conferred upon me

the honour of being one of your Representatives, of returning you my sincere and heartfelt thanks. If I forbear from saying much of your conduct at the last Election, it is from fear that I should be supposed to be praising myself in praising you; but at the same time, if I were to say nothing, I fear it might by some be considered as ingratitude and insensibility of the honour you have done me. As to the Resolutions which have been read to you, in general they meet my most perfect approbation: but, if there is any one to which I cannot give such entire assent, it is to that in which your kindness to me has induced you to return me particular thanks for the share I took in the discussion of those transactions, which have recently occupied the attention of Parliament and of the Public. The share that I took was certainly not more than what my duty required; and there were several other Members fully as forward in discharging their duty as I was. As to the Resolution of returning your thanks to Col. Wardle, this is most undoubtedly his due; for I am well convinced, that out of the six hundred and fifty-eight Members who compose the House of Commons, there is not another man who would have undertaken what he has undertaken, or would have gone through it as well as he has done. There never was, perhaps, a business of such a nature brought forward, where the Mover was so little liable to any imputation. Other public prosecutions may be supposed to originate from disappointed hopes, or personal resentment; but Col. Wardle had no personal disappointments or mortifications to resent, he had no promotion to look for, no hopes to gratify, and had brought the measure forward solely for the public good. His whole conduct of the business evinced the utmost coolness, candour, and impartiality. I should be very happy indeed, to have been able to give the same praise of candour and impartiality to all the Members of that House who were the judges upon that occasion. Those qualities which the judges ought to have possessed, Col. Wardle eminently displayed; and yet great allowances would have been made to the zeal, and even the partial bias, which an accuser may be supposed generally to entertain. In this case, however, the candour, impartiality, and all the qualities which were to be looked for in judges was with the accuser, and very little of those qualities were to be found on the other side. The Gentlemen who have preceded me, have told you

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very truly, that these abuses arise from the imperfect state of our Parliamentary representation. I am fully convinced, that there is not, at the present moment, any subject worthy of engaging the serious attention of the English nation, except the necessity of a Reform in Parliament. This sentiment has been always entertained and always avowed by me, and I do flatter myself that it was this sentiment which first recommended me to your notice. We have heard of late of a great many Commissions and Boards of Inquiry, to consider about the growing abuses of Administration; but how does it happen, that, with all their inquiries and all their discoveries, none of the public peculators have been brought to punishment? (*Loud applause.*) They may bring forward Commission after Commission, and Act of Parliament after Act of Parliament, and yet peculation goes on, and the authors of it are not punished. Instead of the guilty being punished, all manner of imputations are always thrown upon those who detect their guilt. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has lately brought in one of those Bills. If my health had allowed me to have been in the House at the time, I should have certainly opposed the introduction of it. I should have objected to that or any other *sham* and ridiculous plan, which professed what it was evidently impossible that it could accomplish. Of Bills of this sort we have abundance. Lord Melville himself brought in a Bill to prevent corruption in his office, and it was afterwards found that this Bill was so ingeniously worded, that it did not apply to his particular case. You have had persons of all ranks and degrees in life brought to the Bar of the House of Commons, from the high rank of the person who was the subject of the late inquiry, down to the governor of the prison at Cold-bath-fields; and yet, was there an instance of any one of them having been punished? You have already Bills enough to prevent those abuses; but the Bills are a mere dead letter, and the abuses still continue, and are perpetually increasing. You have now upon your Statute-book the Bill of Rights, which was expressly calculated for the prevention of such abuses; and yet this Bill is no longer a protection to the country, for the abuses continue. If the family of the Stuarts had but possessed that knowledge which every body possesses now, the knowledge of managing a Parliament, they never would have been expelled the throne of this country. When

the Bill of Rights stated that standing armies were on no account to be kept up without the consent of Parliament, it had not anticipated the time that Parliaments could be brought to consent to any thing that the King's Ministers should require. At the time in which the Bill of Rights was passed, a standing army was conceived so unconstitutional, and so dangerous to civil liberty, that it was not supposed that Parliament could grant it, except on some case of great emergency. It was a distinct charge against James II. that he kept up a standing army contrary to law; but if he had known the modern art of managing a Parliament, that and much more could have easily been done *according to law*. What, however, is the most cruel and afflicting consideration is, that that very body to which the people should naturally look up as its protector from those abuses, has become the principal cause of them. So far from the House of Commons representing the sense of the people of England, I have ever found, since I have been a Member of the House of Commons, that the most popular sentiment which can be expressed in that place, is a sentiment of contempt for the people of England, whose Representatives they still profess to be. I do believe that the House of Commons is the only spot in all the world, where the people of England are spoken of with contempt. There they are calumniated, there the character of Englishmen is spoken lightly of, and their opinion and feelings set at naught. If this circumstance does not shew you the necessity of Parliamentary Reform, there is nothing that I can say (were I speaking till night) which could convince you. Among those Bills, of which I have been speaking, there is one which is called *Magna Charta*. This has now grown almost obsolete, and was certainly never mentioned in the Courts of Law. By this law no man was to be imprisoned, except by the course of law. There was no exception in favour of Attorney-Generals granting their informations *ex officio*, and having the King's subjects imprisoned contrary to the due course of law. We had an Habeas Corpus Act too, but our ancestors had not calculated on its being suspended, whenever Ministers should ask Parliament so to do. If those laws are now permitted to remain on our Statute Book, they only stand to shew us in what a degrading situation we are now placed, and from what an eminence we have fallen. It is now high time that the country should

call for such a reform as will give us a House of Commons really looking to the interests of the people, and not to the emoluments which are to be derived from the favour of the Crown. (*Loud applause.*)

"There is another sentiment which I feel it necessary for me to express, and in which I differ from many persons. I have heard that spirit much applauded which induces the nobility and gentry of this country to turn farmers, and give their principal attention to the cultivation of their estates. Now it appears to me that it forebodes no good to the country, in its present critical situation, to see those who ought to be considered as its natural defenders, desert its cause at such a time as this, indifferent about those abuses which may lead to its utter destruction, and anxious about fattening sheep and oxen. These cares are in themselves very proper; but they should be only of secondary importance to those whose rank and consideration should rather call them to rescue their country from oppression, than to spend their lives, and devote their whole minds to the consideration of the best manner of fattening cattle.

"I would really wish that those Noblemen and Gentlemen would learn how dangerous it is to them and to the security of their property, to be neglectful of the situation of the country in general. If the country is lost, what will become of their properties? I do really believe that if better measures of defence for the country are not provided, the country will be lost. If, then, some General Junot or Duke of Abrantes becomes the master of it, perhaps indeed these Noblemen or Gentlemen may be still allowed to follow their agricultural experiments (only accounting to him for the profits), and he may be obliged to them for their diligence, and pleased with the discoveries they may make. (*Laughter and applause.*) I see but two measures for the salvation of the country. The first is, to get rid of that intolerable grinding corruption which devours the country, which has placed it in the state of the fabled Prometheus, who was chained to a rock, on whose liver a vulture was constantly preying, but which perpetually grew again. It was in this manner, that notwithstanding the sums which were lavished by corruption, the unexampled industry of the people of this country reproduced the means to supply the constant waste of this infernal corruption. (*Loud applause.*)

"We hear perpetually of the wonder-

ful beauty and contrivance of the Constitution. Now, if we are to judge from the practice, we must suppose that it is a thing too beautiful to be made use of. The country is over-run with numerous tax-gatherers (armed with excessive powers), besides supervisors, and a number of other revenue-officers, whose titles I do not recollect, but who swarm over the face of the land like insects on the banks of the Nile, and, like them, raised and fattened by corruption. The Bill of the Chancellor of the Exchequer will, like other Bills, be soon a dead letter. Need I mention to you the conduct of Judges, who, for offences committed and tried in this city, send men for years to Dorchester Jail, and to solitary imprisonment? Need I describe to you the horrible cruelty of the punishment of solitary imprisonment? The day that introduced that system into England should stand

'For aye accursed in the calendar.'

Do you think, however, that such things are to be remedied by any Bills to be brought in to prevent Judges from acting in this manner? No: they would be effectually prevented by an honest House of Commons, who would call to account Judges, or any other public officers that should abuse the trust reposed in them. Without a House of Commons which really represents the people of England, the country is like a ship without a rudder, which, however it may appear upon the water, is in perpetual danger of shipwreck. We may remember an instance some years ago, of a youth, about 16 or 17 years of age (Mr. Le Maitré), being sent to solitary imprisonment, where he was left for near seven years, without being brought to trial. He had been charged with intending to kill the King, by blowing something out of a reed. It was generally called the Pop-gun Plot; and yet when it was recollected that upon a charge which was probably void of all foundation as well as probability, a man was kept in solitary imprisonment seven years without a trial, I must ask what is the use of Magna Charta, or the Habeas Corpus Bill, or any other Bill which a corrupt House of Commons will permit the Minister to suspend at his pleasure? The abuses of which we complain proceed directly from the corruption which has taken root in the whole system of our Government. Where the source is corrupt, the streams cannot be pure. Where corruption has fastened in the root, it will be discovered in the fruit.

of the tree. Those abuses have arrived to so flagrant a pitch, that even the friends of that system thought it necessary to have commissions and inquiries instituted for the purpose of pruning and dressing the tree which now produces such bitter fruit. This, however, is not our business; we must lay the axe to the root of the tree. (*Loud applause*). Unless we destroy this hydra of corruption, it will destroy the country. The monster now stands, with harpy claws seizing on all our substance, to supply the means of its boundless prodigality. If this monster is not now subdued and destroyed, England must, like many other nations,

"Lie at the proud feet of a conqueror."

"This is then the task of the people of England, and what we have now to do. I hope this use will be made of the patriotic spirit which has been excited by Colonel Wardle. If it does not produce this effect, it will avail but little. If the people of England can be contented at the present moment to assemble merely for the purpose of saying how glad they are of the resignation of the Duke of York, then the country cannot be saved. I have, however, a better opinion of the people of this country, than to suppose that their hopes and expectations can be so limited. I am free to confess that it is my opinion, that a Parliamentary Reform is now absolutely necessary. If it can be obtained by quiet means, it will be a most fortunate circumstance, not only for the country but for the Government, for they are the most foolish and wicked advisers of the Crown, who advise the Sovereign to treat with scorn the wishes and opinions of the people. When Colonel Wardle brought forward his motion, he was immediately charged with being connected with a conspiracy. This is the common course of every scoundrel who is charged with any crime; he immediately turns about, and charges his accuser. It was, however, somewhat extraordinary, that these Gentlemen, who, with such a mass of evidence before them as was sufficient to convince every other person, could not yet be convinced of any impropriety in the Duke of York, should immediately, and without any evidence at all, find out that Colonel Wardle was a conspirator as soon as he had brought forward his accusation. Before he brought forward this accusation, he had a fair and unimpeached character, but now they tell you he is almost as bad as the Jacobins. (*Loud laughter*.) I can see no

other conspiracy existing, except a conspiracy against every honest man that shall have the boldness to point out guilt, and to endeavour to remedy abuses. Some persons talk a great deal of the danger of popular influence: I would be glad, however, that they would lay their hand on the map of Europe, and point out any one country that has ever been destroyed by the prevalence of popular influence. It is easy to point out those which have been destroyed from their Governments being inattentive to the wishes and wants of the People. I indeed will readily admit, that a House of Commons, sitting in its judicial capacity, should not be governed by popular influence upon any other consideration but justice. I should be as much ashamed to have my vote as a judge biased by any consideration, or whether I was to gain or lose popularity, as I would be to accept a bribe or any other corrupt consideration. The character of the people of this country is not for severity of punishment, not for running down any man by clamour, but they look for patient investigation, and above all for impartial justice, and for laws equally applied to all ranks and degrees.

"Our constitution seems to be something like a partnership concern. There are three partners; the King, the Lords, and the Commons. Now what would be said of any common partnership, where one or two of the partners would take the profits to themselves, but leave the full proportion of burden and risk to the other? What share now has the people of England in this firm? It is my hope and wish that they shall at length be restored to their share. (*Loud applause*.) I think nothing can be more improper or pernicious in its consequences, than the endeavour to couple the rest of the Royal Family with the transactions in which the Duke of York is concerned. The Duke of York should be tried for his own offences; but it is unfair as well as injurious to the country to involve others in that odium which only should belong to the guilty. If his Majesty has been obliged to accept the resignation of the Duke of York, the affliction should not go farther. It puts me in mind of the advice given by Hamlet, when his mother complained:

"O Hamlet, you have cleft my heart in twain!"

The answer was,

"Then throw away the worse part,

"And live the purer with the other half."

I hope that the nation has ceased to look

for any advantage from any change of administrations (*cries of no, no, they are all the same.*) We must look no more to parties, and be assured that we never can expect any measures really useful, until the people of England have their proper share in the constitution of their country—(*loud applause.*) As for me, I like this administration just as well as any of the other administrations which have existed in this reign. I do not see that one of them has done more good than the other. I want none of their places either for myself, or for my friends. I would be well content, that they would keep their places, if they would only do the country justice. But my mind is fully impressed with the idea, that this justice will never be done until the people of England shall be fairly represented (as by the theory of the Constitution they ought to be) in the Commons House of Parliament."

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

REVOLUTION IN SWEDEN.

Letters Patent and Proclamation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sudermania, Regent of the Swedish Kingdom, to all the Estates of the Realm, concerning a General Diet to be held on the 1st of May, in the present year: Given at the King's Palace, at Stockholm, March 14th 1809.

We Charles, by the grace of God, assure you, Estates of the Realm, Counts, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, Nobles, Clergy, Burghers of Cities, and Commonalty, of our particular favour, gracious intentions, and kind affection, under the protection of Almighty God.—Since we, according to our gracious Proclamation of the 13th instant, have found ourselves called upon to take the reins of Government as Regent, in order to save our beloved native country from unavoidable destruction, we have considered it of the highest importance to deliberate with the States of the Realm, upon the means which may procure and confirm the future happiness of the Swedish nation. We wish, therefore, and command that all the States of the Realm may assemble in the Capital of the Kingdom before the 1st of May next, and that not only the Nobility may regulate their conduct by the laws for the House of Nobles given on the 6th of June, 1626, by the king Gustavus Adolphus, of glorious memory, &c. and re-

vived and confirmed by king Gustavus III. on the 9th of November, 1778, but that the other States, which, as usual, send Deputies, may observe the following order: From the Clergy are expected to appear the Archbishop, every Bishop from his Diocese, the first Pastor in Stockholm, together with so many from each Diocese as usual, and of the other States, as many as usual, all provided with necessary letters of deputation, in order that we may be able to begin the Diet, and after its being fortunately finished, give you permission to return every one to his province. Which every one must respectfully observe, and we are, &c. &c.

Address of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sudermania, to the People of Sweden, dated Stockholm, March 15, 1809.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sudermania deems it right, and conformable to the duties of his high station, publicly to lay before the Swedish people, the motives and causes which produced the important change, which has lately taken place in the Government of this country.—The archives of the state contain a great variety of documents, which will prove the necessity of that measure, both to the present age and posterity.—For this long time past the public opinion condemned a system of warfare, which so little suits a country, the commercial concerns of which claim that neutrality, which her fortunate geographical situation, that seems to secure Sweden, demands, and which was sacrificed by the Government. As early as 1805, Sweden, joined by other Powers, entered into a war with France, which from local circumstances, was then, however, confined to the loss of her trade with nearly all the States of Europe; a loss which, although not to be compared with that she has since sustained, was yet of great moment.—Soon after differences with Prussia arose, which, however, were not attended with consequences equally important. In 1807, the share which Sweden took in the coalition against France became momentous, and its influence on the dearest interests of the country more detrimental. Swedish Pomerania was occupied by foreign troops, and Stralsund besieged; yet one prospect of more fortunate times yet remained included.

(*To be continued.*)